

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4682

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

AMCONSUL ZANZIBAR

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 1538

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, TZ, US

SUBJECT: END-OF-TOUR VIEW OF ZANZIBAR

1. FORMER PRINCIPAL OFFICER, ZANZIBAR, FSO DAVID HALSTED, CURRENTLY ASSIGNED DAR ES SALAAM, FORWARDS FOLLOWING AS TOUR-END, SUMMARY VIEWS ON ZANZIBAR'S OUTLOOK, DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS, ABOUD JUMBE, AND RELATIONSHIP WITH MAINLAND TANZANIA.

2. ZANZIBAR'S OUTLOOK. FEW ZANZIBARIS SEE BEYOND MAINLAND TANZANIA. WHILE ISOLATION IS NOT COMPLETE, MOST LEADERS ARE POORLY INFORMED ABOUT WORLD EVENTS AND INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. THE GOVERNMENT ENCOURAGES ZANZIBARIS TO BELIEVE THAT SOCIALISM IS CORRECT AND CAPITALISM IS WRONG, BUT IT CREATES NO VILLAINS. THE APPROACH TO SOCIALISM IS PRAGMATIC; MOST AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, INCLUDING CLOVES, IS IN PRIVATE HANDS BUT THE REST OF THE ECONOMY IS STATE-OPERATED. PRIVATE ENTERPRISE WOULD BE THE NORM AMONG ZANZIBAR'S RESOURCEFUL CITIZENS. TENDENCIES TO REVERT TO THE NORM ARE USUALLY STIFLED.

3. THE TREND TOWARDS MODERATION CONTINUES. JUMBE'S MAIN
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OPPONENTS, THE RADICAL ELEMENT, HAVE BEEN LARGELY NEUTRALIZED. THE POSITION OF THE UNITED STATES GRADUALLY IMPROVES. THE POPULAR VIEW WOULD ASSIGN MORE IMPORTANCE TO THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES. HOWEVER, JUMBE'S OUTLOOK DOMINATES. HE IDENTIFIES STRONGLY WITH THE THIRD WORLD AND IS ATTRACTED BY INDIA AND CHINA. OFFICIAL APPRECIATION OF THE UNITED STATES HAS PERCEPTIBLY RISEN WITH RENEWED US PARTICIPATION IN

ZANZIBAR'S DEVELOPMENT.

4. DEVELOPMENT PROSPECTS. THERE IS LITTLE PROSPECT OF IMPROVING LIVING STANDARDS AT THE PRESENT RATE OF DEVELOPMENT. STAPLES HAVE BEEN RATIONED SINCE THE 1964 REVOLUTION. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION COULD BE SIGNIFICANTLY INCREASED BUT INCENTIVES ARE INADEQUATE. LARGE AMOUNTS OF FOOD ARE STILL IMPORTED, ALTHOUGH ZANZIBAR SHOULD BE A FOOD EXPORTER.

5. ZANZIBAR DRAWS ON A SCATTERING OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE. CHINA HAS BEEN BY FAR THE MAJOR DONOR, ALTHOUGH ITS ENTHUSIASM FOR ADDITIONAL PROJECTS IS COOLING. POTENTIAL DONORS HAVE TENDED TO BYPASS ZANZIBAR AS ITS CLOVE - EARNED FOREIGN EXCHANGE RESERVES (RESERVE POSITION AVERAGED ABOUT DOLS 65 MILLION OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS) HAVE MADE IT APPEAR LESS NEEDY THAN OTHERS. THE RESERVES ARE ALMOST INVARIABLY USED UNWISELY BECAUSE OF EXCEPTIONALLY POOR PLANNING. THE NEAR ABSENCE OF PLANNING AND A CRITICAL SHORTAGE OF TRAINED MANPOWER PREVENT ANY DEVELOPMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE. AN ADDITIONAL FACTOR IS ABOUD JUMBE, WHO HAS SEIZED ALMOST ALL POWER BUT WHO DELEGATES INADEQUATE AUTHORITY. LITTLE OR NOTHING CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED DURING HIS MANY ABSENCES ON MAINLAND DUTY. MOREOVER, MOST PROPOSALS THAT REACH JUMBE, INCLUDING THE OCCASIONAL MERITORIOUS PLAN, ARE USUALLY MET WITH INDECISION AND DELAY. TIME IS OF LITTLE IMPORTANCE ON ZANZIBAR.

6. ABOUD JUMBE. JUMBE IS A SHREWD POLITICAN. HE HAS STEADILY CONSOLIDATED HIS POWER. OPPONENTS HAVE BEEN ISOLATED, COMPROMISED AND, WHERE NECESSARY, SHIFTED TO THE MAINLAND. HE LEANS STRONGLY TOWARDS SOCIALISM BUT IS MORE AT HOME WITH RHETORIC
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THAN WITH IMPLEMENTING SOCIALIST PROGRAMS. JUMBE IS A MODERATELY CAPABLE ADMINISTRATOR BUT A POOR DECISION-MAKER. HIS ZANZIBAR RECORD INDICATES HE WOULD HAVE DIFFICULTY COMING TO GRIPS WITH TANZANIA'S DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES AS A FUTURE PRESIDENT. JUMBE WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO ALTER TANZANIA'S ORIENTATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN OR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. HIS BELIEF IN AFRICAN UNITY AND THIRD WORLD SOLIDARITY OVERRIDE HIS PRAGMATISM.

7. RELATIONSHIP WITH TANZANIA. THERE IS A CONSENSUS IN ZANZIBAR FOR MAINTAINING THE INDEPENDENCE OF ITS ECONOMY AND GOVERNMENT. ZANZIBAR THIS YEAR GAVE UP ITS OWN POLITICAL PARTY, THE MAJOR SYMBOL OF ITS AUTONOMY, THROUGH A MERGER WITH THE MAINLAND'S PARTY. SENTIMENT RUNS STRONGLY AGAINST FURTHER SACRIFICE. MAINLAND LEADERS WHO MIGHT PRESS FOR FURTHER CONSOLIDATION OF THE UNION AFTER THE MERGER OF TANZANIA'S TWO POLITICAL PARTIES WOULD PUT THE UNION IN JEOPARDY.

8. JUMBE IS THE MAIN LINK BETWEEN ZANZIBAR AND THE MAINLAND. HE HAS SO FAR BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN CONSOLIDATING HIS ISLAND POWER

WHILE ESTABLISHING HIMSELF AS THE PRIME CANDIDATE TO SUCCEED
PRESIDENT NYERERE. THE PARTY MERGER PUT CONSIDERABLE STRAIN
ON HIS ABILITY TO RECONCILE THESE TWO ROLES. HE CANNOT AFFORD
TO LOSE HIS POSITION ON ZANZIBAR; IT IS AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT
IN HIS CREDIBILITY AS A LEADER OF ALL TANZANIA.
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